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Main works-

A saga of Sacrifices: Praja Parishad Movement in J&K

100 Documents: A reference book J&K, Mission Accomplished

A Compendium of Icons of Jammu & Kashmir & our Inspiration (English)

Jammu Kashmir ki Sangarsh Gatha (Hindi)

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JAMMU AND KASHMIR GOVERNMENT

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Department

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POLITICAL THEORY

Section

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Khushal Lal
Sharma

WOMEN AWARENESS EMPOWERMENT:
THE NEED OF THE HOUR

*Dr. Sheetal Gupta,

The women empowerment not only constitutes a problem in almost all contemporary societies but has emerged today a fundamental crisis in human development in general and in India in particular. The sex inequality which cannot be differentiated from the variety of social, economic, religious and cultural inequalities is, however, inherent in our traditional social structures, based on caste, community and class. It has also a varying significant influence on the status of women in different spheres of life.

Historically speaking from early times down to the Indian independence, women in India had witnessed varying fortunes . At times women said to have enjoyed remarkable freedom, wielded ample powers and exercised responsibilities which gave them a high status in the society. They had therefore, risen to principles of glory, distinguished themselves as rulers in their own right, as powerful

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Jammu

queen consort, a protectors of religious hero, as singing and dancing beauties and earned name in keeping homes also. The happiest period for women here were during vedic times and the times when country came under the sway of Buddhism.

But with the establishment and consolidation of Muslim rule in India, women were gradually and increasingly deprived of their rights and privileges. In the wake of Afgans onslaught there, however, followed religious prosecution, rapines and devastation. Pardaha was more rigorously enforced and their presence in every sphere of social activity eclipsed and they were not only physically and spiritually shattered but their sole meaning and purpose in life became to keep the houses, to gratify the desires of their husbands and to procreate. Moreover, their insecurity, helplessness and physical weakness made them subservient and socially dependent.

In addition, our religious dogmas, social traditions, cultural norms and the value systems to the larger extent were also responsible for their pitiable and deplorable conditions and shaping the attitude as well as behaviour pattern of our men folk towards

WOMEN AWARENESS AND EMPOWERMENT;

NEED OF THE HOUR

WOMEN EMPOWERMENT IS STILL A DEAM IN INDIA

Dr. Sheetal Gupta
BY DR SHEETA GUPTA

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But, with the establishment and consolidation of Muslim rule in India, women were gradually and increasingly deprived of their rights and privileges. In the wake of Afgans onslaught there, however, followed religious prosecution, rapine and devastation. Pardaha was more rigorously enforced and their presence in every sphere of social activity eclipsed and they were not only physically and spiritually shattered but their sole meaning and purpose in life became to keep the houses, to gratify the desires of their husbands

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In addition, our religious dogmas, social traditions, cultural norms and the value systems, to the larger extent, were also responsible for their pitiable and deplorable conditions and the shaping the attitude as well as behaviour pattern of our men folk towards them. They were, thus, considered as secondary citizen with non independence of any sort.

The male oriented and dominated value system which emerge through out the British rule in India not only swayed the society but the subordination of women appeared in almost every walk of life. Even the feudal society like the semi-feudal and semi-capitalistic system treated women as the personal property of men. Though the major share of household work was still with the female members yet *They*

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relegated women's position to an unparalleled low relative to others in social hierarchy and economic status.

As the Indian women witnessed the most complete and the most degrading subjugation in the history of mankind during British rule, the vast majority of them, therefore, lost refinement of their mind and self confidence, spirit of revolt and sense of righteous indignation.

→ In spite of all these limitations, the Indian women played an important role in freedom's struggle. They suffered in thousands and passed into oblivion without any recognition or fame. The fathers of Indian freedom were also very much conscious of the deplorable conditions of women folk. They were also aware of the fact that inherent strength of women, at whose breast humanity is nourished and in whose lap civilization are cradled, if suitably channelised could be directed towards National Development. Past experience and recent studies ^{also} indicated that women are more

stronger, have more capacity for endurance and even live longer. Still they draw strength from traditional and cultural values of our great civilization. In their quest of development, they have not yet forgotten their familiar duties and responsibilities. Neither have they discarded the essence of womanhood nor the long years of sufferings and discrimination have cowed down their indomitable spirit. Rather these have strengthen their resolve to relentlessly pursue and achieve their rightful place and be master of their destiny.

Despite, after more than six decades of our independence and of equal rights given by our constitution as well as the existing progressive policies of the central and state governments, women in India are still socially and economically one of the most disadvantaged section of our society. The vast majority of them are still ignorant of their constitutional and legal rights today as they were before independence and, thus, are far from enjoying the

opportunities guaranteed to them by law. Even our society has not yet succeeded in framing the required norms and institutions to enable women to fulfil the multiple role that they are expected to play in independent India. In addition, the social laws, that sought to mitigate the problems of the women in their family life, have still remained unknown to a large mass of women in the country in general and in country side in particular. Many atrocities and discriminations are still being perpetuated in the name of religious and social norms. They are continued to be denied the full and equal participation in decision making, in business, in political processes as well as in social and public life. Even the so called modern, educated and broad minded families still have different set of rules for boys and girls. It is powerlessness, not poverty alone, is the real inhibiting factor among the poor women. Many atrocities and discriminations are still being perpetuated in the name of religion and social norms. As a result ^{crimes} ~~criminations~~ against women such as female infanticide, domestic

violence, dowry death, rape, molestation, sexual harassment etc. have been increasing on alarming speed. ^{ASP} While there had been much talk of the need to empower women, this has not yet resulted in specific workable or sustained measures that would help to create a social order based on genders justice.

Strategies for empowering women must focus beyond economic restructuring to include restructuring of social relations which constrain and restrain women. Rural women who form a subset of the rural poor population, lack not only money income and skill but ^{the} all more vitally self assurance and ^{also} motivation. Projects for economic amelioration have not improve their status in the family or community, because they do not think of themselves as participants and as citizens who though poor and illiterate, still have fundamental rights for fair treatment, justice, dignity, a commensurate share in the fruits of development, and above all to information about their

entitlement and the alternatives available to them to make decision about their own lives.

The problem of women as discussed above cannot be tackled by legal methods of penalization and prevention alone, but by providing institutional infrastructure for their reform and rehabilitation. Similarly the gap in the perception of their needs and available opportunities, which is a major cause of their exploitation, cannot be offset by development ^{al} ^m programmes but by adequate understanding of the magnitude and intricacies of the problem and providing supportive institutional frame work. Moreover, in our rapidly changing and culturally differentiated society, a slow process of adjustment in its social value system and rigidity ^{of} its institution, have resulted in various forms of incongruous and deviant behaviour. Structural changes in our socio – economic system are, therefore, urgently needed for a smooth process of adjustment.

Even our educational system has also failed to create awareness among the women, particularly in rural areas as well as in those belonging to the poor classes in the urban areas, about their constitutional as well as legal rights. It could not counteract the traditional belief in inequality of sexes in our society. Our schools still reflect and strengthen the traditional prejudice through their curricula and classification of subjects on the basis of sex. There is an urgent need for bringing about change in our existing education system so that it would help to create new social order based on gender equality and justice.

The educators must admit their responsibilities to create awareness among the fair sex about their rights and to bring about a change in values of ^{our} younger generation. In order to eradicate our religious traditions and some features which have perpetuated

certain stereotypes and myths about women i.e. their subordination to men, The mass-media of communication should also play its role. It should provide ^{informatory} ~~unfortunately~~ guidance and should create awareness for real or ideal models or behaviour and raise aspirations for better standards of living for women. Apart from economic ^{dimensions} ~~diminutives~~, their lives as women will ^{thus} improve because their awareness will help them to tackle issues like better standard of living, bigamy, entitlement with in and outside family and denial of dignity as individual.

Once the women are empowered with the ability and desire to think of themselves as rightful claimant to a better life, other inputs, like motivation and overcoming the cultural of submission will follow with greater ease than in conventional models of development. (It is powerless ^{ness} ~~ness~~, not poverty, which is the real inhibiting factor, even among poor women.)

While concluding, I may point out that as the social, legal and constitutional laws, that sought to mitigate the problems of women in their family life, ^{have} Have still remained unknown to a large mass of women in this country. There is urgent need that community organizations, ^{governments} Govt, Educators, Legislators and mass-media should mobilize public opinion and strengthen social efforts against oppressive institutions like polygamy, dowry, domestic violence, female infanticide, child marriage etc. etc. and ^{launch} amount a campaign for the dissemination of information about the constitutional and legal rights of women, to increase their awareness, to elevate them to a central position in developmental process as well as to create a mechanism that would allow them to participate in decision making activities that affect their community. Once the Indian women are empowered with the ability and desire to think themselves as rightful claimant to better socio-politico-economic life, other inputs like

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CENTRE STATE CONSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS : IRRITATIONS
AND TENSIONS - A STUDY OF JAMMU & KASHMIR STATE

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The contemporary political scientists tend to think of centre-state relations as the tension between national and regional interests. The controversy in the federal political systems of today has been, therefore, centred on the question of inter-governmental relations. That is how a federal system in contemporary federal politics operates and how it should operate. Although the centre-state relations have often been reviewed by various specially constituted commissions or committees in various federal political systems, yet irritations and tensions in their politico-constitutional and socio-economic relations are still continuing unabated.

However, the Union of India is not a homogeneous state. Being a multi-lingual country it is composed of a number of principal, socio-cultural, viable and disparate units (called states). In fact these units (States) have distinct regional and political personalities of their own. When such States, where exist communal

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discord, regionalism, an awareness of one's own cultural heritage, historical traditions and a sense of political individuality, become the units of a federation with a strong central government, just like Indian Federation, strains and stresses, conflicts and controversies and irritations and tensions between the central government and its federating units are bound to arise.

The debate about the nature and working of Indian federalism, as laid down in its constitution, has been, therefore, going on since 1950s. As the working of Indian federal system has been pronouncedly on the unitary lines along with a steady encroachments on the powers of its constituent states, the contradictions and conflicts between centre-states relationship are being witnessed right from the day India became the union of states, in general and since 1967 in particular when non-congress but strong regional political parties' ministries were constituted in some of the Indian states.

When, with the withdrawal of the British power from the Indian sub-continent, the transfer of powers and the partition of the British India created a set of new circumstances and situations, the state of Jammu and Kashmir acceded to the Indian dominion. But the process of integration and constitutional adjustments, which had

→ Kashmiri leadership refused to do so.
At one stage all the four members of Indian Constituent Assembly threatened to resign and go back.
As a result of the differences, each began to mistrust the other.

been adopted in regard to the other Indian Princely States, was not at all followed in the case of Jammu and Kashmir State.

The constitutional relationship between Kashmir State and the Union of India continued to be governed by the provisions of Kashmir's Instrument of Accession of 26th October, 1947 and

Article 370 of Indian Constitution. *When the Constitution of India was in the final stage of making, most of the central leadership wanted Kashmir too accede with India in the same manner as that of the other princely states did. But →*

During the first phase of the democratic rule in Kashmir State, which started with State's accession to the Indian Union way back in October, 1947 and terminated with Sheikh Abdullah's dismissal as Prime Minister and his subsequent arrest on 9th August, 1953, the National Conference leadership tried hard to maintain and preserve the maximum autonomy of the State by fighting against the integrationists and secessionist forces inside and outside the State as well as to protect its special status within the Indian Union.

As the secessionists in the valley and the integrationists of Jammu treaded on two paths the National Conference leadership tried hard to rally and placate the diverse elements in the State to an endorsement of the larger State autonomy.

The arrest of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was, however, followed by a great mass upheaval. About Ten Thousand of people, including women, and several MLAs were arrested. There were strong public protests, processions, ^{even} The ancestral house of Bakshi's official vehicle were burnt. Srinagar city was handed over to army. About 150 people were killed in police firing. All this not only caused the feeling of hatred against India but its secularism and democracy were ridiculed as fake one.

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During a decade of Bakshi Ghulam Mohd.'s premiership (1953-1963) the Kashmir leadership tried to move from larger autonomy to limited autonomy ^{and} to stabilise its constitutional relationship with the Indian union. To realise this in concrete terms they embarked upon a cautious and partial integration beyond the position already reached upon till August 1953. The Kashmir accession has been, therefore, ratified by the Kashmir ^C Assembly in 1954. The J&K constitution was finally enacted in November 1956 and enforced on 26th January 1957.

✓ All these extensions means to deprive the state its autonomy character guaranteed under Art 370 of the Constitution of India.

Thus, the will to chisel a distinctive constitutional personality of the state as desired by Sheikh Mohd Abdullah became flabby. The constitution of the state took increasingly the shape of a carbon copy of Indian constitution with certain separate features to accommodate the political culture of Kashmir and the local sentiments. During his premiership the important central laws, various provisions of Indian constitution, its part XIII and part XIV, jurisdiction of Election Commission and Supreme Court were extended to the state. ⊕

But the complete stability in Kashmir constitutional relationship with the centre was not achieved even after this. The strain, stresses, conflicts, and controversies in Kashmir's constitutional relations with the centre not only shadowed the minds of the people of the state but also led to turmoils in the state in subsequent years.

✓ The theft of holy from the Hazratbal shrine and prolonged protest of the entire Muslim population of the valley, led to the down fall of Shams-ud-din's Ministry, the successor of Bakshi Ghulam Mohd.

Being progressive by outlook and impressed by the new progressive programmes of Congress (I) that is socialistic pattern of society and the adoption of the progressive legislations by the Indian Parliament such as abolition of privy purses, bank nationalisation etc., G.M. Sadiq embarked upon the policy of progressive integration of the state with the centre. As a result, nomenclature of Prime Minister of the State and Sader-i-Riyasat were changed into Chief Minister and Governor respectively, a number of beneficiary laws were extended to the state and National Conference merged into Indian National Congress. But at a later stage he too realised that he was loosing his popularity with the people in the valley largely on account of his policy. He then took in hand a policy of liberalisation vis-a-vis political parties and placation of Sheikh Abdullah and his followers in an attempt to rally the general support to his administration.

✓ As the people of the valley seemed not to be satisfied with different régimes since Sheikh's

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arrest in 1953, Pakistan's influence on the people was still increasing, the problem of communalism and secessionism not only still continued but had taken a serious turn in the valley; some of the Kashmiri leaders even challenged the state's accession with the Indian Union and pleaded for the holding of Plebiscite to decide its finality; Sheikh Abdullah was still regarded as undisputed leader in the valley and his influence in the political circle was still paramount and Kashmir issue was being treated as international issue. Mrs. Indira Gandhi was convinced that it was not possible to tackle all such problems without taking Sheikh Abdullah into confidence. The failure of Pakistan Army to capture Kashmir by force, the political turmoil in Pakistan because of the refusal to accept Mujib-ur-Rehman as Prime Minister of Pakistan, Pakistan armies commission of atrocities on co-muslim brethren of East-Pakistan had their deep impact on the thinking of Kashmiri intelligentsia. They were clear in their mind that the people of the state would have been treated in the same way if they had acceded to Pakistan.

✓ All these factors encouraged the Indian Government and Sheikh Abdullah to come to a compromise. Thus prolonged dialogue was started between Indira Gandhi and Sheikh Abdullah through their representatives, ultimately led to the signing of *Indira-Sheikh Accord* of 1975.

Thus, by confirming again the finality of the Kashmir's accession with Indian Union, entrenching the Kashmir's ~~accession with Indian Union~~ special status and the largest possible state autonomy the Indira - Sheikh Accord prepared the way for Sheikh Abdullah's return to the Constitutional position on the support of the Congress Party. With his return the wheel seemed to have gone full circle and state leadership appeared to be back to the first phase that is finality of State accession, its special status and its urge for the largest possible State autonomy.

Although it was generally believed that Indira-Sheikh accord of 1975 was a real land-mark in changing the character of constitutional relationship between the State of Jammu and Kashmir and the Union of India yet inspite of qualitative change the new relationship had its own dynamic operating which potentially have given rise to the new irritations and tensions, conflicts and controversies and confrontation of the State with the centre though qualitatively of different type. Sheikh Abdullah and his colleague were however, still remained bitter over the erosion in the content of the State autonomy since August, 1953.

When in 1977 general election, the Congress (I) party was defeated and Janata Party came to power at the centre, the Pradesh Congress (I) of Jammu and Kashmir decided to withdraw its support to Sheikh Abdullah's ministry. Sheikh on the other hand was left with no alternative but to recommend to the State Governor to dissolve the State assembly and to call for new elections. All this led to the end of cordial relationship

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between National Conference and Congress (I) leadership. Both the parties again started to extend their influence on the cost of others. Their differences further deepened during the State Assembly Elections of 1977. But because of the charismatic leadership of Sheikh Abdullah and his undisputed influence on Kashmiri people, National Conference secured an absolute majority in the elections.

The passing of Resettlement Bill by the State Assembly in 1982, the controversy on sanctioning funds for Dul Hasti Hydro Electric Project and sharing the electricity produced by it and the events before and after 19⁷⁷ State Assembly Elections further enhanced the misunderstanding between Centre and State Leadership. The cordial relationship between the State and Central Governments seemed to come to an end and confrontation started once again.

After sometime both the parties realised that some satisfactory basis must be found to make Centre - State relations more sound not only on the basis of legislative relations, but also through Courts, the Executive and public opinion.

The situation hardly improved in the wake of Indira-Sheikh Accord, the calculation on which the maker of Accord relied heavily, proved to be incorrect and unrealistic. There was a sea-change in the thinking and belief of the original followers of Sheikh Abdullah and those who collected around him under the leadership of plebiscite front. The vast majority of the new National Conference men were not wedded

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to secularism and Indian democracy and were easily exposable to the virus of pan-Islamism. They were unhappy on the return of Sheikh into power, as a result of Accord because they believed that the 'Massiha' had failed miserably in his mission to safeguard the separate Kashmiri identity against the Indian Chauvnism.

✓ Kashmir is the only State where central government has always imposed govt. of its own choice, however, unpopular and corrupt it may be; one party dominated the affairs of the State; (i.e. one party Govt. as the norm); where demand for democratic and human rights, protest against corruption, maladministration, administrative injustice are branded as treason, pro-Pak-agent and anti-national.

As desired by Sheikh Abdullah and supported by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Dr Farooq Abdullah was made the Chief Minister of the State just after the death of his father on 8th September, 1982 by ignoring the claims of G.M. Shah (the eldest son-in-law of Sheikh Abdullah) who regarded himself to be next claimant in the party. Mrs. Indira Gandhi wanted Dr Farooq Abdullah to toe the lines of the Centre. But he avoided. The result was a tug of war between J & K P.C.C. and National Conference leadership. Even the negotiation of the sharing of seats between the two parties for 1983 Assembly election also flopped. National Conference, however, succeeded to get absolute majority in the election with the support of the rightest parties - Awami Action Committee, Jamat-i-Islami, Jamat-i-Tuiba and its various factions. During Farooq's second term, known Pak-agents said to have been awarded with

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high political position. The youngmen who had said to have been remained in contact with the Pak intelligence were accommodated in the administration. Thus, anti-Indian forces gained respectability and freedom to operate from positions of authority and they thrived under the protective umbrellas of the politicians in power.

Moreover, Dr Farooq Abdullah's meeting of leaders of opposition parties at the centre, attending oppositions conclave at Bangalore and hosting third opposition conclave at Srinagar further deepened the crisis and the rift between Centre and the State. The disturbances at Srinagar during one day International Cricket Match, man handling of Indian players and raising anti-India slogans and challenging the validity of accession of the State with Indian Union had added fuel into the fire.

By the time Farooq Govt. was dismissed in July, 1984, the tentacles of terrorism had spread extensively. Subversive ~~literature~~ literature including periodicals regularly brought out and widely and almost openly distributed alongwith weapons and explosives. There also emerged the terrorist gangs like 'Aljehad', 'Al-Maqbool Muslim Mujahideen', Holy War Fighters, etc.

The dismissal of the popularly elected Govt. of Dr Farooq Abdullah gave another shock to the Kashmiri political elite. His role as Kashmiri protest, as he symbolised the Kashmiri identity, was further undermined.

The conditions were further deteriorated during a short spell of G.M. Shah regime. The political imbecility and

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administrative naviety resorted to this period had no parallel. Anti-nationals operated unfettered and unchallenged and created an atmosphere congenial for the promotion and spread of militancy.

The central leadership, after trying all possible alternative to bring to rest all conflicts, controversies, irritations and tensions between the constitutional relationship of Kashmir with the union believed that Dr Farooq Abdullah, President of the National Conference (F), would be the only ultimate choice, to improve not only conditions in the State but also to bring to rest all misgivings between Kashmir's constitutional relationship with the Centre.

However, as a result of Rajiv-Farooq Accord of 1986 a coalition Govt. of Congress and NC (F) was formed. Both the parties jointly contested Assembly elections. The massive rigging in 1987 election which saw large number of Kashmiri youth taking part on the name of national unity grossly eroded the authenticity of public verdict and further gave a setback to the Kashmiri faith in democratic values. The Govt. formed thereafter became a victim of manipulation by warring factions of beaurocrats, its own lethargy and the non-performance of the leaders.

In short the irritations and tensions, the conflicts and controversies between the Kashmir constitutional relations with the Centre did not end as a result of a new experiment that is Rajiv-Farooq accord but more of them were further created, some more devices are, therefore, still to be invented to reduce and minimise the possibilities of centre-state tension

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During Dr Rubaiya's kidnapping in December, 1989
tension once again emerged between Centre and the State
constitutional relations. The State leadership blamed New
Delhi dealing with Srinagar in a hamhanded faction, refusing
the State Government, the autonomy of action that was
rightfully its own. Against the wishes of the State Chief
Minister, five hardcore militants were released on the Central
instructions. Women ~~goes~~ ^{and} landed the militants and distributed
Shirni ^{and} JKLF flag were hoisted all over Srinagar.

Just after Rubaiya's kidnapping episode, there
occurred Gaukadal incident on 20th January, 1990, followed by
a massacre of innocent ~~xxx~~ civilian in Lal Bazar on March 21,
1990 which turned the Kashmiri's mood from being anti-centre
to anti India. Thousand Kashmiri boys started crossing over to
Azad Kashmir to take part in Pak-training programme. The
central leadership believing that Dr Farooq's approach to
militancy had been all wrong, then, decided to appoint
Jagmohan, once again, to replace Gen. V.K. Krishna Roy as
Governor of the State, against the wishes of the then State
leadership. As Dr Farooq Abdullah felt that Mr. Jagmohan was
decidedly anti-muslim~~xxxxx~~, sought his social base from
communal outfits and behaved like a colonial ruler, and things
could not get better, he resigned from chief ministership the
momented Jagmohan's appointment was made known to him.

In the ninth State Legislative Assembly elections
which were held in 1996 after a gap of nearly a decade because
of militancy caused by proxy war imposed by the State of
Pakistan, The National Conference again came in power

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by securing 57 assembly seats. The National Conference fought this election on pre-1953 status to the State and maximum State Autonomy planks.

In order to fulfil election promises Dr Farooq Abdullah, just after the resumption of the office of Chief Ministership, constituted a State Autonomy Committee to go into the question of quantum of effective autonomy that State may enjoy within the constitution of India and to give a comprehensive view about the State's constitutional relationship with the Centre as it evolved since it acceded to India as well as to recommend measures for the restoration of maximum State autonomy. The report of the Committee which was submitted in April, 1999 and passed in a stormy session of the Assembly in July, 2000 and submitted to centre, ^{the} irritations and tension between Centre and the State had taken a new turn. ⑦

⑦ Even during the hijacking of Indian Airlines plane in Dec 1999, the central govt, once again, acted in an authoritarian fashion in getting released the five hard core militants from Jammu Jail against the wishes of the state govt, i.e. by undermining the freedom of action of the state govt.

The Commission of Centre-State relations that is Sarkaria Commission rightly agreed with Woodrow Wilson, who pointed out -

"The Question of federal State relations cannot be settled by the opinion of any one generation, because it is a question of growth and every successive ~~steps~~ ^u stage of our political and economic development gives it a new subject, makes it a new question."

The Commission further pointed out that the Federal arrangement was not merely a question of balancing of powers between Union and states but also building a nation through development of judicious socio-economic order and strengthening

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of domestic process. In its report, the Sarkaria Commission did mention certain devices, without changing the basic structure of the constitution to reduce to the minimum the tensions and irritations between centre-state relations.

Whether these recommendations will be able to eliminate or reduce to minimum the irritations, tensions, conflicts and controversies between the Centre and the State in the Indian Polity is a question to be answered by the future times to come.

✓ However, the working of Centre-State relations in India shows that to have a uniform pattern of relations between the Centre and States is not a must for the proper functioning of federalism. As India is a plural and politically uneven society, the Centre-State relations have to be of varying nature. Throughout the constitutional development of India there was an attempt in the direction of uniformity. But complete uniformity and stability are not possible because of the dynamic nature of society, tensions and irritations between the Centre and the State are, therefore not peculiar to any particular political system. They have existed and are existing in all federal states particularly in developing society.

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I may conclude with the remarks that there are three forces - Autonomists, Integrationists and Secessionists/Fundamentalists - acting and reacting in the Jammu and Kashmir state and consistently putting strains and stresses on Kashmir's constitutional relationship with the Indian Union since independence. The autonomists, on one hand, insist that Kashmir's accession with Indian Union is of restrictive nature i.e. in three subjects - Defence, External Affairs and Communication. They, therefore, not only favour maximum autonomy for the state, retention of Art. 370 of the Indian Constitution as a permanent clause but also stresses that any unilateral attempt to alter it will have dangerous consequences. Integrationists, on the other, strongly plead for not only the abrogation of Art. 370 but also merger of the state within Indian Union like other princely states of India. The secessionists/fundamentalists, however, not only challenge the finality of the state accession with Indian Union but also demand the right of self-determination for the Kashmiris to decide their own fate. One of its strongest faction favours its secession from Indian Union and its accession with Pakistan. Whereas its other faction wants to make Kashmir state as an Independent Country.

The conflicting policies of all the above said factions and forces seems to be the real cause of most of the irritations and tensions, conflict and controversies between centre and the state's constitutional relationship since independence.

CENTRE STATE CONSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS : IRRITATIONS
AND TENSIONS - A STUDY OF JAMMU & KASHMIR STATE

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The contemporary political scientists tend to think of centre-state relations as the tension between national and regional interests. The controversy in the federal political systems of today has been, therefore, centred on the question of inter-governmental relations. That is how a federal system in contemporary federal politics operates and how it should operate. Although the centre-state relations have often been reviewed by various specially constituted commissions or committees in various federal political systems, yet irritations and tensions in their politico-constitutional and socio-economic relations are still continuing unabated.

However, the Union of India is not a homogeneous state. Being a multi-lingual country it is composed of a number of principal, socio-cultural, viable and disparate units (called states). In fact these units (States) have distinct regional and political personalities of their own. When such States, where exist communal

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discord, regionalism, an awareness of one's own cultural heritage, historical traditions and a sense of political individuality, become the units of a federation with a strong central government, just like Indian Federation, strains and stresses, conflicts and controversies and irritations and tensions between the central government and its federating units, are bound to arise.

The debate about the nature and working of Indian federalism, as laid down in its constitution, has been, therefore, going on since 1950s. As the working of Indian federal system has been pronouncedly on the unitary lines along with a steady encroachments on the powers of its constituent states, the contradictions and conflicts between centre-states relationship are being witnessed right from the day India became the union of states, in general and since 1967 in particular when non-congress but strong regional political parties' ministries were constituted in some of the Indian states.

When with the withdrawal of the British power from the Indian sub-continent, the transfer of powers and the partition of the British India created a set of new circumstances and situations, the state of Jammu and Kashmir acceded to the Indian Union. But the process of integration and constitutional adjustments, which had

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Kashmiri leadership refused to do so. At one stage all the four members of Indian Councils threatened to resign and go back. As a result of the differences, each began to mistrust the other.

been adopted in regard to the other Indian Princely States, was not at all followed in the case of Jammu and Kashmir State. The constitutional relationship between Kashmir State and the Union of India continued to be governed by the provisions of Kashmir's Instrument of Accession of 26th October, 1947 and Article 370 of Indian Constitution. When the constitution of India was in the final stage of making, most of the central leadership wanted Kashmir too accede with India in the same manner as that of the other princely states did. But → During the first phase of the democratic rule in Kashmir State, which started with State's accession to the Indian Union way back in October, 1947 and terminated with Sheikh Abdullah's dismissal as Prime Minister and his subsequent arrest on 9th August, 1953, the National Conference leadership tried hard to maintain and preserve the maximum autonomy of the State by fighting against the integrationists and secessionist forces inside and outside the State as well as to protect its special status within the Indian Union.

As the secessionists in the valley and the integrationists of Jammu treaded on two paths the National Conference leadership tried hard to rally and placate the diverse elements in the State to an endorsement of the larger State autonomy.

The arrest of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was, however, followed by a great mass upheaval. About Ten Thousand of people, including women and several MLAs were arrested. There were strong public protests, processions, ^{even} the ancestral house of the ruling official which were burnt. Srinagar city was handed over to army. About 150 people were killed in police firing. All this not only caused the feeling of hatred against India but its secularism and democracy were ridiculed as false one.

During a decade of Bakshi Ghulam Mohd.'s premiership (1953-1963) the Kashmir leadership tried to move from larger autonomy to limited autonomy to stabilise its constitutional relationship with the Indian union. To realise this in concrete terms they embarked upon a cautious and partial integration beyond the position already reached upon till August 1953. The Kashmir accession has been, therefore, ratified by the Kashmir ^C assembly in 1954. The J&K constitution was finally enacted in November 1956 and enforced on 26th January 1957.

+ All these
extensive means
to deprive the
State its auto-
nomy character
guaranteed under
Art 370 of the
Constitution of
India.

Thus, the will to chisel a distinctive constitutional personality of the state as desired by Sheikh Mohd Abdullah became flabby. The constitution of the state took increasingly the shape of a carbon copy of Indian constitution with certain separate features to accommodate the political culture of Kashmir and the local sentiments. During his premiership the important central laws, various provisions of Indian constitution, its part XIII and part XIV, jurisdiction of the High Commission and Supreme Court were extended to the state. (F)

But the complete stability in Kashmir constitutional relationship with the centre was not achieved even after this. The strain, stresses, conflicts, and controversies in Kashmir's constitutional relations with the centre not only shadowed the minds of the people of the state but also led to turmoils in the state in subsequent years.

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4 The theft of holy from the Hazratbal shrine and prolonged protest of the entire Muslim population of the valley, led to the down fall of Shams-ud-din's Ministry, the successor of Bakshi Ghulam Mohd.

Being progressive by outlook and impressed by the new progressive programmes of Congress (I) that is socialistic pattern of society and the adoption of the progressive legislations by the Indian Parliament such as abolition of privy purses, bank nationalisation etc., G.M. Sadiq embarked upon the policy of progressive integration of the state with the centre. As a result, nomenclature of Prime Minister of the State and Sader-i-Riyasat were changed into Chief Minister and Governor respectively, a number of beneficiary laws were extended to the state and National Conference merged into Indian National Congress. But at a later stage he too realised that he was loosing his popularity with the people in the valley largely on account of his policy. He then took in hand a policy of liberalisation vis-a-vis political parties and placation of Sheikh Abdullah and his followers in an attempt to rally the general support to his administration.

As the people of the valley seemed not to be satisfied with different regimes since Sheikh's

arrest in 1953, Pakistan's influence on the people was still increasing, the problem of communalism and secessionism not only still continued but had taken a serious turn in the valley; some of the Kashmiri leaders even challenged the state's accession with the Indian Union and pleaded for the holding of Plebiscite to decide its finality; Sheikh Abdullah was still regarded as undisputed leader in the valley and his influence in the political circle was still paramount and Kashmir issue was being treated as international issue. Mrs. Indira Gandhi was convinced that it was not possible to tackle all such problems without taking Sheikh Abdullah into confidence. The failure of Pakistan Army to capture Kashmir by force, the political turmoil in Pakistan because of the refusal to accept Mujib-un-Rehman as Prime Minister of Pakistan, Pakistan army's commission of atrocities on co-muslim brethren of East-Pakistan had their deep impact on the thinking of Kashmiri intellectuals. They were clear in their mind that the people of the state would have been treated in the same way if they had acceded to Pakistan.

All these factors encouraged the Indian Government and Sheikh Abdullah to come to a compromise. Thus prolonged dialogue was started between Indira Gandhi and Sheikh Abdullah through their representatives, ultimately led to the signing of Simla-Sheikh Accord of 1975.

Thus, by confirming again the finality of the Kashmir's accession with Indian Union, entrenching the Kashmir's ~~accession with Indian Union~~ special status and the largest possible state autonomy the Indira - Sheikh Accord prepared the way for Sheikh Abdullah's return to the Constitutional position on the support of the Congress Party. With his return the wheel seemed to have gone full circle and state leadership appeared to be back to the first phase that is finality of State accession, its special status and its urge for the largest possible State autonomy.

Although it was generally believed that Indira-Sheikh accord of 1975 was a real land-mark in changing the character of constitutional relationship between the State of Jammu and Kashmir and the Union of India yet inspite of qualitative change the new relationship had its own dynamic operating which potentially have given rise to the new irritations and tensions, conflicts and controversies and confrontation of the State with the centre though qualitatively of different type. Sheikh Abdullah and his colleague were however, still remained bitter over the erosion in the content of the State autonomy since August, 1953.

When in 1977 general election, the Congress (I) party was defeated and Janata Party came to power at the centre, the Pradesh Congress (I) of Jammu and Kashmir decided to withdraw its support to Sheikh Abdullah's ministry. Sheikh on the other hand was left with no alternative but to recommend to the State Governor to dissolve the State assembly and to call for new elections. All this led to the end of cordial relationship

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between National Conference and Congress (I) leadership. Both the parties again started to extend their influence on the cost of others. Their differences further deepened during the State Assembly Elections of 1977. But because of the charismatic leadership of Sheikh Abdullah and his undisputed influence on Kashmiri people, National Conference secured an absolute majority in the elections.

The passing of Resettlement Bill by the State Assembly in 1982, the controversy on sanctioning funds for Dul Hasti Hydro Electric Project and sharing the electricity produced by it and the events before and after 1953 State Assembly Elections further enhanced the misunderstanding between Centre and State Leadership. The cordial relationship between the State and Central Governments seemed to come to an end and confrontation started once again.

After sometime both the parties realised that some satisfactory basis must be found to make Centre - State relations more sound not only on the basis of legislative relations, but also through Courts, the Executive and public opinion.

The situation hardly improved in the wake of Indira-Sheikh Accord, the calculation on which the maker of Accord relied heavily, proved to be incorrect and unrealistic. There was a sea-change in the thinking and belief of the original followers of Sheikh Abdullah and those who collected around him under the leadership of plebiscite front. The vast majority of the new National Conference men were not wedded

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to secularism and Indian democracy and were easily exposable to the virus of pan-Islamism. They were unhappy on the return of Sheikh into power, as a result of Accord because they believed that the 'Massiha' had failed miserably in his mission to safeguard the separate Kashmiri identity against the Indian Chauvnism.

Kashmir is the only State where central government has always imposed govt. of its own choice, however, unpopular and corrupt it may be; one party dominated the affairs of the State; (i.e. one party Govt. as the norm); where demand for democratic and human rights, protest against corruption, maladministration, administrative injustice are branded as treason, pro-Pak-agent and anti-national.

As desired by Sheikh Abdullah and supported by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Dr Farooq Abdullah was made the Chief Minister of the State just after the death of his father on 8th September, 1982 by ignoring the claims of G.M. Shah (the eldest son-in-law of Sheikh Abdullah) who regarded himself to be next claimant in the party. Mrs. Indira Gandhi wanted Dr Farooq Abdullah to toe the lines of the Centre. But he avoided. The result was a tug of war between J & K P.C.C. and National Conference leadership. Even the negotiation of the sharing of seats between the two parties for 1983 Assembly election also flopped. National Conference, however, succeeded to get absolute majority in the election with the support of the rightest parties - Awami Action Committee, Jamat-i-Islami, Jamat-i-Tuiba and its various factions. During Farooq's second term, known Pak agents said to have been awarded with

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high political position. The youngmen who had said to have been remained in contact with the Pak intelligence were accommodated in the administration. Thus, anti-Indian forces gained respectability and freedom to operate from positions of authority and they thrived under the protective umbrellas of the politicians in power.

Moreover, Dr Farooq Abdullah's meeting of leaders of opposition parties at the centre, attending oppositions conclave at Bangalore and hosting third opposition conclave at Srinagar further deepened the crisis and the rift between Centre and the State. The disturbances at Srinagar during one day International Cricket Match, man handling of Indian players and raising anti-India slogans and challenging the validity of accession of the State with Indian Union had added fuel into the fire.

By the time Farooq Govt. was dismissed in July, 1984, the tentacles of terrorism had spread extensively. Subversive ~~sknorkxopantxxdixkxinkkxkxalongwithxxweaponsxxand~~ literature including periodicals regularly brought out and widely and ~~al~~ almost openly distributed alongwith weapons and explosives. There also emerged the terrorist gangs like 'Aljehad', 'Al-Maqbool Muslim Mujahideen', Holy War Fighters, etc.

The dismissal of the popularly elected Govt. of Dr Farooq Abdullah gave another shock to the Kashmiri political elite. His role as Kashmiri protest, as he symbolised the Kashmiri identity was further undermined.

The conditions were further deteriorated during a short spell of G.M. Shah regime. The political imbecility and

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administrative naviety resorted to this period had no parallel. Anti-nationals operated unfettered and unchallenged and created an atmosphere congenial for the promotion and spread of militancy.

The central leadership, after trying all possible alternative to bring to rest all conflicts, controversies, irritations and tensions between the constitutional relationship of Kashmir with the union believed that Dr Farooq Abdullah, President of the National Conference (F), would be the only ultimate choice, to improve not only conditions in the State but also to bring to rest all misgivings between Kashmir's constitutional relationship with the Centre.

However, as a result of Rajiv-Farooq Accord of 1986 a coalition Govt. of Congress and NC (F) was formed. Both the parties jointly contested Assembly elections. The massive rigging in 1987 election which saw large number of Kashmiri youth taking part on the name of national unity grossly eroded the authenticity of public verdict and further gave a setback to the Kashmiri faith in democratic values. The Govt. formed thereafter became a victim of manipulation by warring factions of beaurocrats, its own lethargy and the non-performance of the leaders.

In short the irritations and tensions, the conflicts and controversies between the Kashmir constitutional relations with the Centre did not end as a result of a new experiment that is Rajiv-Farooq accord but more of them were further created, some more devices are, therefore, still to be invented to reduce and minimise the possibilities of centre-state tension

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During Dr Rubaiya's kidnapping in December, 1989 tension once again emerged between Centre and the State constitutional relations. The State leadership blamed New Delhi dealing with Srinagar in a hamhanded faction, refusing the State Government, the autonomy of action that was rightfully its own. Against the wishes of the State Chief Minister, five hardcore militants were released on the Central instructions. Women goes landed the militants and distributed Shirni JKLF flag were hoisted all over Srinagar.

Just after Rubaiya's kidnapping episode, there occurred Gaukadal incident on 20th January, 1990, followed by a massacre of innocent ~~and~~ civilian in Lal Bazar on March 21, 1990 which turnect the Kashmiri's mood from being anti-centre to anti India. Thousand Kashmiri boys started crossing over to Azad Kashmir to lake part in Pak-training programme. The central leadership believing that Dr Farooq's approach to militancy had been all wrong, then, decided to appoint Jagmohan, once again to replace Gen. V.K. Krishna Roy as Governor of the State against the wishes of the then State leadership. As Dr Farooq Abdullah felt that Mr. Jagmohan was decidedly anti-muslim~~anght~~ sought his social base from communal outfits and behaved like a colonial ruler and things could not get better, he resigned from chief ministership the momented Jagmohan's appointment was made known to him.

In the ninth State Legislative Assembly elections which were held in 1996 after a gap of nearly a decade because of militancy caused by proxy war imposed by the State of Pakistan. The National Conference again came in power

by securing 57 assembly seats. The National Conference fought this election on pre-1953 status to the State and maximum State Autonomy planks.

In order to fulfil election promises Dr Farooq Abdullah, just after the resumption of the office of Chief Ministership, constituted a State Autonomy Committee to go into the question of quantum of effective autonomy that State may enjoy within the constitution of India and to give a comprehensive view about the State's constitutional relationship with the Centre as it evolved since it acceded to India as well as to recommend measures for the restoration of maximum State autonomy. The report of the Committee which was submitted in April, 1999 and passed in a stormy session of the Assembly in July, 2000 and submitted to centre, ^{the} irritations and tension between Centre and the State had taken a new turn. (D)

Even during the hijacking of Indian Airlines plane in Dec. 1999, the central govt, once again, acted in an authoritarian fashion in getting released the five hard core militants from Jammu Jail against the wishes of the state govt, i.e. by undermining the freedom of decision of the state govt.

The Commission of Centre-State relations that is Sarkaria Commission rightly agreed with Woodrow Wilson, who pointed out -

"The Question of federal State relations cannot be settled by the opinion of any one generation, because it is a question of growth and every successive ~~stage~~ stage of our political and economic development gives it a new subject, makes it a new question."

The Commission further pointed out that the Federal arrangement was not merely a question of balancing of powers between Union and states but also building a nation through development of judicious socio-economic order and strengthening

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of domestic process. In its report, the Sarkaria Commission did mention certain devices, without changing the basic structure of the constitution to reduce to the minimum the tensions and irritations between centre-state relations.

Whether these recommendations will be able to eliminate or reduce to minimum the irritations, tensions, conflicts and controversies between the Centre and the State in the Indian Polity is a question to be answered by the future times to come.

However, the working of Centre-State relations in India shows that to have a uniform pattern of relations between the Centre and States is not a must for the proper functioning of federalism. As India is a plural and politically uneven society, the Centre-State relations have to be of varying nature. Throughout the constitutional development of India there was an attempt in the direction of uniformity. But complete uniformity and stability are not possible because of the dynamic nature of society, tensions and irritations between the Centre and the State are, therefore not peculiar to any particular political system. They have existed and are existing in all federal states particularly in ^{the} developing society.

I may conclude with the remarks that there are three forces - Autonomists, Integrationists and Secessionists/Fundamentalists - acting and reacting in the Jammu and Kashmir state and consistently putting strains and stresses on Kashmir's constitutional relationship with the Indian Union since independence. The autonomists, on one hand, insist that Kashmir's accession with Indian Union is of restrictive nature i.e. in three subjects - Defence, External Affairs and Communication. They, therefore, not only favour maximum autonomy for the state, retention of Art. 370 of the Indian Constitution as a permanent clause but also stresses that any unilateral attempt to alter it will have dangerous consequences. Integrationists, on the other, strongly plead for not only the abrogation of Art. 370 but also merger of the state within Indian Union like other princely states of India. The secessionists/fundamentalists, however, not only challenge the finality of the state accession with Indian Union but also demand the right of self-determination for the Kashmiris to decide their own fate. One of its strongest faction favours its secession from Indian Union and its accession with Pakistan. Whereas its other faction wants to make Kashmir state as an Independent Country.

The conflicting politics of all the above said factions and forces seems to be the real cause of most of the irritations and tensions, conflict and controversies between centre and the state's constitutional relationship since independence.

PT. JAWAHER LAL NEHRU AND SOCIALISM

**Prof. Vidya Bhushan*

Being a leader of immense national and international repute and a social engineer, Pt. Jawaher Lal Nehru through his writings, speeches, utterances and statements from time to time had unleashed his seminal and impregnated political ideas having relevance for the modernisation and rebuilding of a developing democratic society like ours. His political ideas, which were evolved through his historicist approach and his sociological understanding of history, occupied a valued and a momentous position for a newly emerging nation wedded to the ideas of Socialism, democracy and secularism. Although his political ideas were neither utopian nor platonic and even lack the scientific tenor yet the faith and vehemence with which he had upheld and implemented them towards the welfare of the society was unique in the history of modern India.

Pt. Nehru was not a pioneer in socialist thinking. He seemed to have been attracted to Socialism during his college days in London (1910-12) when he came in contact with socialistic thinkers and attended lectures of progressive intellectuals like George Bernard Shaw, Bertrand Russel and J.M. Keyner. He was also influenced by the progressive ideas of Marxism and Russian revolution of 1917. In 1926, he was associated with a group of radical thinkers in his own province of U.P. and together they drew up a programme of Agrarian Socialism but it was confined to some demands against the feudal elements of zamindari and taluqdari systems of land tenure which were very oppressive for the farmers. During 1926-27, he was in Europe and there he imbibed more radical ideas of Socialism and economic emancipation. He participated in the meeting of the League Against Imperialism in Brussels also. He became a pioneer of socialist ideas in India, made Socialism a respectable creed with the

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middle class nationalist intelligentsia and led the congress party towards accepting 'Democratic Socialism' as its cherished and ultimate goal. Under the spell of Gandhi's influence Pt. Nehru engaged his attention towards the rural India. He was greatly moved by the misery and plight of the people in rural areas. He himself had observed the problems which Socialism aims at solving.

Pt. Nehru participated in the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities^{the} held at Brussels in Feb. 1927 which had proved to be the turning point in Nehru's mental development. From here he not only received a grounding in Marxism but he came into contact with several exponents of Socialist Thought as well as the Communists. His visit to Soviet Union in Nov. 1927, on the other hand, aroused his curiosity about the first Marxist Socialist experiment. Where old values had changed utterly and the old standards had given place to the new one's. After his visit his emotional preferences for Leninist Communism became marked. He seemed to have been converted to Socialism. On August 11, 1928 he wrote, "It is essential that we must clearly lay down an economic programme for the masses with Socialism as its ideal. We must cultivate a revolutionary outlook". Addressing the U.P. Political Conference on Oct. 27, 1928 he said, "Our economic programme must aim at the removal of all economic inequalities and an equitable distribution of wealth. I am quite positive in my mind that there should be ceiling on land". He even presided at the Annual Conference of the Indian Trade Union Congress and Indian National Congress in 1929. He was no doubt fully dedicated to the ethical, sentimental and emotional aspect of Socialism as a philosophy of compensation for the suppressed classes and declared that he was deeply involved with Socialism as an economic theory of state ownership and control of the basic means of production and distribution. On his instance the Karachi Congress adopted a resolution which said, "In order to end exploitation of the masses, political freedom must include real economic freedom of the starving millions".

Moreover, the rise of Fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany his prison life and other events and trends in national and international politics also

greatly influenced him and his political thoughts. He started appreciating the Marxist Theory. He said "It is a way of interpreting history, politics, economic, human life and human desires. It is a theory as well as a call to action. It is a philosophy which has something to say about most of the activities of man's life". As a President of Congress, in 1929 he frankly confessed that he was a socialist and expressed the hope that India would have to go that way, if she desired to end the poverty and inequalities."

✓ Pt. Nehru was of the view that "History came to have a new meaning for me. The Marxist interpretation threw a flood of light on it, and it became an unfolding drama with some order and purpose, however unconscious behind it". In the discovery of India he pointed out "A Study of Marx and Lenin produced a powerful effect on my mind and helped me to see history and current affairs in a new light". Pt. Nehru had a liking for Marxism because he found it free from dogmatism. He took Marxism as a guide to understand history and social phenomenon, not as dogma or religion. In short the study of Marxism, the truth of Marxist analysis and the then existence of Soviet Union sustained Nehru's faith in Socialism.

✓ By 1936, Pt. Nehru seemed to have been completely converted to Socialism. He believed in ethical Socialism. He regarded Socialism as a philosophy of life and not merely as a formula for Economic reconstruction. He wanted that Congress to declare Socialism as its goal. In his Presidential Address at the Lucknow Congress in April 1936 while expressing his deep faith in the ultimate success of Socialism, he said, "I am convinced that the only solution of the world's problems and of Indian problems lies in Socialism and when I use the word, I do so not in a vague humanitarian way, but in the scientific and economic sense. I see no way of ending poverty, the vast unemployment, the degradation and subjection of the Indian people except through Socialism, that involved vast revolutionary changes in the social structure, the ending of vested interest in land and industry, as well as the feudal and autocratic Indian

States System. This means the ending of property except in a restricted sense that the replacement of the present profit system by an ideal of cooperative service."

✓ As Socialism differ from country to country in accordance with its Socio-Politic Economic and cultural conditions. Pt. nehru adopted his new approach to bring Socialism in India by using democratic and constitutional methods. He had portrayed the type of society he wanted to be established in India in his Autobiography as under:

"Our final aim can only be a classless society with equal economic justice and opportunity for all, a society organised on a planned basis for the raising of mankind to have material and cultural levels to a cultivation of spiritual values, of cooperation, usefulness, the spirit of service, the desire to do right, good will and live....ultimately a world order."

✓ Pt. Nehru clarified his position pertaining to his socialist leaning in the following words:

"I am temperamentally and by training an individualist and intellectually a Socialist...I hope that Socialism does not kill or suppress individuality. Indeed. I am attracted to it because it will release innumerable individuals from economic and cultural bondage".

✓ He sought to replace the motive of private profit in society by a spirit of social service, competition by cooperation and conflict and violence by a more enduring and peaceful system from which the roots of violence have been removed, and where hatred shrivels up and yields place to nobler feelings. All this he called Socialism. He said, "this type of Socialism would lead to a society which could claim to be democratic and egalitarian having no great inequalities or disparities".

✓ He thus, evolved his own conceptions of Socialism which was different from one which the Russian people had established in their country under the inspiration of the teaching of Marx. He pointed out:

"I am not communist chiefly because I resist that communist tendency to treat communism as a holy doctrine. I suppose I am too much of an individualist. I feel also that too much violence is associated with communist method. The ends cannot be separated from the means".

In a statement issued to the press on Feb. 22, 1939, Pt. Nehru further clarified his approach to be used for establishment of a socialist society in India. He said "I have been convinced socialist and a believer in democracy, and have at the same time accepted whole heartedly the peaceful technique of non-violence action which Gandhi ji practised so successfully during the past twenty years. I am convinced that strength can come to use from the masses, but the great work of building a new world must be a disciplined and orderly strength".

✓ He then explained the objectives of Socialism in the following words:

"The object of Socialism is to remove the difficulties of people and to provide opportunity to everyone to lead a comfortable and good life... better distribution of the wealth among the people. This leads to Socialism."

✓ We may say that Neharvian Socialism is three dimensional such as Gandhian ethics, Marxian Economics and democratic politics.

✓ Pt. Nehru did not give a specific definition of 'Socialism'. He said "I am afraid, I have no definition to give. Definition tend to become dogmas and slogan, which prevent clear thinking in terms of a rapidly changing world..." He stressed the end of Socialism is human welfare and development, affording maximum opportunities to individuals, to

enable them to attain the stature for which they are best fitted.

✓ He, however, pointed out the differences in his views on Socialism in the years around 1935 and 1955. Nehru believed in class antagonism in 1935 but gave up this idea in 1955. In 1935 he was in the role of a political agitator but in 1955 and later he was in the very responsible role of prime ministership of India. Moreover, his Socialism in 1955 was converted into a democratic Socialism. In other words his Socialism was pragmatic and not dogmatic and conditioned by circumstances. ✓ He, therefore, admitted "I look upon it as a growing, dynamic conception, as something which is not rigid, as something which must fit, in with the changing conditions of human life and activity in every country. ✓ The several resolutions passed by the congress from time to time under the leadership of Nehru did indicate his views and attachment to Socialism. ✓ The main sign posts in his socialist thinking were the creation of a mixed economy as first industrial policy in 1948. The establishment of a National Planning commission in 1950 and the publication of the draft outlines of the first Five Years Plan (1951-56) ✓ in July 1951 with targets for both the public and private sectors, ✓ his declaration at the National Development Council on Nov. 9, 1954 that India should be a socialist pattern of society ✓ which was neither Socialist, Communist nor Capitalist; ✓ to adopt a resolution for setting up Socialistic pattern of society at both AICC session of 1955 at Avadi; adoption of a second Industrial policy resolution in 1956 with its goal to bring social changes. The amendment of Art I of the Congress Constitution in 1957 and adding the word socialist before the words cooperative commonwealth, recognition of cooperative farming since the Nagpur congress of 1958. The goal of which was redefined at 1959 Nagpur session and subsequently at Bhubaneswar in 1964 where congress ideology was summed up as Democratic Socialism based on democracy, dignity of individual and social justice. ✓

✓ Pt. Nehru also stressed that Socialism did not merely imply change in the economic relations in society. It involved fundamental changes in the social structure, in the ways of thinking and in the ways of living. ✓ Caste and class would have no place in a socialist state. Mere material

prosperity alone would not make life rich and meaningful. Along with economic development, ethical and spiritual values should be fostered. Then alone there would be full development of the individual. When this takes place, the present day acquisitive society would be replaced by a socialist one." In short from 1947 to 1964 Nehru kept on shifting ideologically towards left. Although his ideas regarding Socialism were modified to some extent when he became a practical administrator, yet his faith in Socialism as a solution of problems of democracy remained unshaken till the end. In an interview with R.K.Karanjia in 1960 he stressed, "I have believed in Socialism for the past fifty years, and until somebody convinces me to the contrary, I shall continue to believe in and work for Socialism...that should be the ideal of every sensible nation or society or individual. Modern thinking all over the world is increasingly becoming socialist and only people who have lost touch completely with contemporary trends can think otherwise".

While concluding I may point out that Nehru's Socialism and economic policies had been attacked by both the 'Right' and the 'Left'. The most vehement criticism of his Socialism came from C.Rajagopalachari who said, "It is as impossible to have state Socialism he (Pt. Nehru) planned with suffocating regimentation as it is to spend money without earning it. We cannot eliminate the evils of regimentation from the socialist pattern of Mr. nehru, which is state Socialism.

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SOCIALIST THOUGHTS OF PT. JAWAHARLAL AND M.K. GANDHI : AN ESTIMATE

Dr. Vidya Bhushan*

The distrust and antipathy between the 'haves' and 'hovernots' which often found expression in massive strikes and arrogant lock-outs of factories by the workers in 19th century brought the society to the precipice of an open social disruption. The system of capitalism was, therefore, totally discredited. As a result the close of 19th century witnessed the doom of individualism and socialism, in one form or the other seized the temple of politics.¹

Socialism, being defined as "a system of social organisation in which private property and the distribution of income are subject to social control, rather than to determination by individuals pursuing their own interests or by the market forces of capitalism", aims at 'man's emancipation, his restoration to unalienated, uncrippled individual who enter's into a new, rich, spontaneous relationship with his fellowmen and with nature And transform himself into a being who can make creative use of his powers of feeling and thinking'.² Socialism as a theory and political movement has appeared in various forms in different countries. Its form changes in accordance with the varying social, economic, political and cultural conditions of each country.

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Pt. Nehru, being a man of action was also committed to 'socialism'. He was deeply influenced by the writings of Karl Marx and Lenin, communism of Soviet Union and China. He was of the view that the story of socialism of Karl Marx gave him a distinct status in the realm of socialist thought. He clarified his positions to his socialist learning and said :

"I am temperamentally and by training an individualist and intellectually a socialist..... I am attracted to it because it will release innumerable individuals from economic and cultural bondage"³

Even in his early days he was associated with a group of radical thinkers and drew up a programme of something like agrarian socialism in his home state. After a short visit to Russia his emotional preferences for Leninist Communism became marked. His initial approach to socialism was purely humanitarian and ethical. It was bred out of sympathy and pity for the misery of the under dogs. He seemed to have been converted to socialism during his visit to the Soviet Union. He wrote that "It is essential that we must clearly lay down an economic programme for the masses with socialism as its ideal."⁴ From the presidential platform of the Lahore Congress, he categorically enunciated his commitment to socialism. While believing Socialism as a philosophy of compensation for the suppressed classes and nationalities, he declared that he was deeply impressed with

Socialism as an economic theory of state ownership and control of the basic means of production and distribution.⁵

Nehru believed in ethical socialism. He regarded Socialism as a philosophy of life and not merely as a formula for economic reconstruction. To him socialism was the economic technique for the liberation of the masses from the industrial and agrarian feudal lords and oligarchs. He said Socialism meant the ending of private property except in a restricted sense. Like Marx and Lenin he also believed that the advent of socialism would be the motivations for a change in man's instincts, habits and desires.⁶

M.K. Gandhi, on the other hand, was not a theoretician but a practical idealist and at heart a deeply religious man. His outlook on Socio-politico-Economic and other problems was influenced by his religious views. He subscribed to the principle of social justice and practiced with a religious zeal from the earliest days in South Africa where he had founded the Tolstoy farm, basing it on certain chosen principles of communism.⁷ He, once, said that he claimed to be socialist because of his belief and conduct. He stressed that his socialism was natural to him and not adopted from any book. He further pointed out that he was socialist long before those who knew it in India and avowed his creed. He even did not think that socialism was the discovery of Marx and it was not born with the discovery of the misuse of capital by capitalists. He contended that socialism and

even communism was explicit in the first verse of the Isopanishad.⁸ Gandhi knew the heart rending poverty and suffering of the people in the villages and his preoccupations with the redress of that suffering his ambition to wipe every tear from every eye. Immediately captured imagination of the countryside and the response to his call was of the nature of a volcanic eruption thereafter.⁹

Nehru's idea of socialism was not based on any type of socialism found in other countries. He named his concept as an indigenous socialism, based on the liberty of individual and not using any type of force or suppression. He considered individual liberty as a very precious commodity which could not be bartered with any precious thing. He termed it as 'Democratic Socialism' He wanted that capitalism should be ended by non-violence and by peaceful methods.¹⁰ As a passionate and genuine defender of and deep attachment to the civil liberties, he said "to crush a contrary opinion forcibly and allow it no expression, because we dislike it, is essentially of the same genus as cracking the skull of an opponent because we disapprove of him".¹¹ Nehru did not find any inherent contradiction between socialism & Individualism. He believed that the individual and the state were not anti thesis to each other. He hoped that his socialism would not kill or made suffer individuals. He said "I am attracted to it because it will release innumerable individuals from economic & cultural bondage.

Gandhi did not like any kind of Jargon and believed that it was the quality and the spirit of a system which was more important. He disapproved all such institutions and ideologies which strike at individuality. He valued individual freedom. He was a democratic humanitarian by instinct. He also stressed that his concept of socialism was pragmatic and not dogmatic. He pointed out that as unrestricted individualism is the law of the beast of the jungle, there should be balance between individual freedom and social restraint. Gandhi favours socialism if it did not come through violence. He termed his concept of socialism as non-violent socialism.¹² He was opposed to the use of any suppression or extermination of the antagonists. He pleaded that the individual freedom should have fullest play, which could be achieved under the reign of unadulterated Ahimsa.¹³ Gandhi put forward the ethical arguments in his advocacy of moral transformation of the individual. He believed that the use of force was likely to alienate the right minded and neutral one's and it might lead them to the other side and thus strengthen the opponents.¹⁴

Pt. Nehru's concept of socialism was not a static or dogmatic rather it was pragmatic, ever changing and ever evolving. He kept on constantly shifting his socialist ideology toward left from 1947 to 1964. He admitted :

"I look upon it as a growing, dynamic conception as something which is not rigid, as something which must

fit in with the changing conditions of human life and activity in every country".¹⁵

Nehru evolved his own concept of socialism. He had portrayed the type of society which he wanted to establish in India in his Autobiography :

"Our final aim can only be a classless society with equal economic justice and opportunity for all, a society organised on a planned basis for the raising of mankind to have material and cultural levels to a cultivation of spiritual values, of cooperative, usefulness, the spirit of service, the desire to do right, goodwill and live ultimately a world order".¹⁶

Like Pt. Nehru, Gandhi's concept of socialism was not dogmatic. He was a practical idealist and at heart deeply religious man. His outlook on social, political, economic and other problems was influenced by his religious view. He not only subscribed to the principles of socialism and social justice but practiced it with a religious zeal. Gandhi's interest in socialism was by and large practical. He tried to deduce his propositions from facts of life and tested them every time to make practical. He, quite often, used comparison with scientific method to illustrate his own idea.¹⁷

Pt. Nehru hated the Princes, Nowabs and big Zamidars who were leading a luxurious and comfortable lives, whereas the majority of population was deprived of the very basic essentials like food, shelter and

clothing. He regarded zamindari system as a source of great exploitation and evil. He believed that Taluqdari system of land tenure was very oppressive for the farmer. He pleaded for the abolition of Zamindari system and to put ceiling on landed property. He believed that as land was a unique type of property which could not increase or decrease, the land ownership be vested in the state. He stressed that there would be no other alternative to this if real socialism to be established on firm foundations.¹⁸

Gandhi, on the other hand stressed that all land belonged to state i.e. people and pleaded for the state ownership of the land. He believed in the change of heart and conversion of landlords by means of the doctrine of non-violence and trusteeship. He wrote :

"I expect to convert the Zamindars and other capitalists by non-violent method. For it is an essential part of non-violence to go long the line of least resistance".¹⁹ He believed that if the toilers intelligently combined they would become an irresistible power. He wanted to invite the zamindars and the capitalists to regard themselves as a trustee for those on whom they depended for making the retention of an increase of their capital.²⁰

The wholistic approach of Pt. Nehru was production oriented. He did not believe in the liberal school of economic and the theory of non-interventaionalism. His ideas were partly similar to those of the German state socialists-wagnes, schmoller, knies etc. He pointed out that his

attachment to socialism was not of the vague humanitarian type but socialism as meant in economic sense. He stressed that his socialism meant the ending of private property except in a restricted sense. His socialist pattern connoted social ownership or control of the principal means of production, acceleration of natural production and the equal distribution of the wealth of nation.²¹ He believed in nationalization and emphasized increase of productive resources and full employment.²² He would give to the 'rurals industries' and 'Khadi' in his scheme of economic reconstruction. He believed in rapid industrialization of the country. He talked about progressive socialization and stressed on the necessity of agrarian reconstruction in India. He was also committed to the theory of mixed Economy. He was keenly conscious of India's grave economic problems such as unemployment, underemployment, rampant poverty, food shortage, high prices etc. For ending all these maladies he accepted and tried to implement the concept of planned economy.

Gandhi, however, accepted the spiritual orientation to economics. He said that 'Truth' and 'Ahimsa' must incarnate in socialism. His noble crusade for the liberation of the suppressed lower class in India showed his deep attachment to the concept of social justice. He believed that the industrial civilization of the occident was based on the exploitation of the weaker people. Its complicated material life was inconsistent with high thinking. He was therefore, primarily engaged in abolishing the unjust

economics exploitation of India. He pleaded to return to nature. He stressed that the civilization should consist not in the accumulation of commodities but in a deliberated and voluntary reduction of wants. Gandhi condemned the 19th century doctrine of Laissez fair.²³ He accepted the concept of economic equality. All persons should be supplied with necessities to satisfy their natural needs.²⁴ He was of the view that for the concrete realization of economic equality it was essential to take recourse to Charkha and the allied industries.²⁵ In Hindswaraj he opposed large scale industrialization, imperialism and secularism as diseases. Later on, in the context of the future Indian society he advocated reconciliation of large scale and small scale industries, the nationalization of key industries and organisation of urban centre to function as catering to the interests of the villages where the real soul of India lay.²⁶ Gandhi was a critic of capitalism because the institution of capitalism was a negation of Ahimsa. He championed the revolutionary doctrine of equal distribution of wealth. He stressed that there should be no accumulation and no useless possession. The rich should become trustee of their surplus wealth for the good of the society.

Pt. Nehru did not find any inherent contradiction between socialism and individualism. He believed that the individual and the state were not anti-thesis to each other. He was of the view that liberty was possible and was consistent with planning. He said that equality and liberty always go

together and they do not run centre to each other.²⁷ He pleaded that he was temperamentally a socialist and hoped that socialism would not kill or make individuals to suffer. He pointed out that he was attracted to socialism simply because it would release innumerable individuals from economic and cultural bondage.²⁸

Gandhi also laid greater stress on the role of the individual in bringing about social revolution.²⁹ He said that it were individuals who started the process of revolution in their bid to change the social efficiency. The individualism and socialism were not contradictory but complementary to each other. He disapproved all such institutions and ideologies which strike at individuality- the root of all progress. Out of the two extremes- Marxian economic determinism, which regarded individuals of no consequence in determining the course of history and unrestricted individualism of the laissez-fair.³⁰ Gandhi uphold the golden mean balance between individual freedom and social restraint. He pleaded for the adjustment of individualism to the requirements of social progress. He said that willing submission to social restraint for the sake of the well being of the whole society would enrich both the individual and the society. He, therefore, presented synthetic view about the relation between the individual and society.³¹

Pt. Nehru's socialism was also nationalization oriented. Nehru classified industries into three sectors - Public, National and Private. The

first included post & telegraph, Railways & Defence industries which must be the exclusive monopoly of the state. The National sector included industries which were also the exclusive responsibility of the state. These were coal, iron, steel, mines, air craft, ship building etc. All other industries would be in the private sector.³² He was of the view that public sector should work where it could increase production. But he did not want nationalization of the private sector where it was rendering useful service to the society by enhancing the production. Pt. Nehru said "As long as private industries are kept going and are employing many people, we would rather use our resources for developing new projects and employing more people. If these industries are well managed privately, we see no need for nationalization at any time".³³ He selected for nationalization of big and heavy industries and projects involving huge amount for investments and were most essential for creating an infrastructure to give a strong and sound base to Indian economy. e.g. Atomic energy, space technology³⁴ etc. Nehru was also in favour of big machinery and fast travelling.

Gandhi to advocated nationalization of key industries which produced essential commodities. He pleaded that key industries should not be retained under private ownership because it would lead to the exploitation of the workers. He favoured increase of production and not private accumulation, but for social service. He even opposed all mechanisation because it would create unemployment, idleness and intellectual dullness.

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His opposition was not to the machine as such, but to the irrational craze for machinery.³⁵

Pt. Nehru admitted that there was conflict of interests among the different sections of people e.g. interests of the zamindars vs tenants; industrialists vs the workers. He stressed that this conflict was not an irreconcilable. Moreover these were frictions and not conflicts. He pleaded that these could be removed by non-violent and by peaceful methods.³⁶

Gandhi, on the other hand, repudiated the theory of class-struggle. He started with the notion of the common good of the whole community and pleaded for the replacement of the concept of class struggle by the more rational theory of social well being and harmony.³⁷ Discarding the theory of class antagonism founded on inveterate hatred of classes, Gandhi remarked :

"I do not like the assumption underlying its propositions which go to show that there is necessary antagonism between the classes and the masses or between labourer and the capitalist such that they can never work for mutual good. If this would have been the case, the human race would not have advanced to this stage".³⁸

Gandhi was of the view that his socialism wished to advance society by cutting across classes and not by setting classes against classes. He wished to abolish classes by bringing the classes together so that there

were no class distinctions left. Gandhism, therefore, stood for class conversion.³⁹

Nehru was poles apart from communist approach to international politics and economics. His approach to socialism, since his Cambridge days was purely humanitarian and ethical. He advocated the purity not only of ends but also of means. He repeatedly reiterated the theme of nobility of means and operation of moral laws. He had also accepted the creed of Ahimsa. His conviction about purity of ends and means was said to be stimulated by Gandhian influence.⁴⁰

Gandhi was also emphatic regarding the use of non-violent means for achieving the ideal society. He held that the means and ends were convertible terms and that the ends grew out of the means. He said there was the inviolable connection between the means and ends. He pointed out the ends and means were so intertwined that they could not be separated. He further stressed that good ends could never be achieved through bad means. Since the end in view was a non-violent society, free from exploitation and oppression, the means to bring that about, must be also be non-violent.⁴¹ He pleaded that :

"So close is the relation between ends and means that if one takes care of the means, the end will take care of itself; the means is the end in process. Hence the purer

the means, the surer will be the progress towards the goal." 42

He said that democracy or swaraj of the masses could never come through untruthful and violent means. 43

While concluding I may say that Pt. Nehru had a profound emotional attachment to the Gandhi. Nehru represented the search for freedom, social justice and equality. Where as Gandhi embodied the eastern quest of emancipation of all illumination. Nehru was a democrat for the masses but Gandhi was a democrat of the masses. Both were socialist in their thought and action in their own ways. Nehru was of the view that socialism did not merely imply change in the economic relations in the society. But it involved fundamental changes in the social structure, in the way of thinking and in the way of living and caste and class would have no place in a socialist state. He, however, agreed with Gandhi that mere material prosperity alone would not make life rich and meaningful. Both were, however, of the view that along with economic development, ethical and spiritual values should be fastered in order to bring about full development of the individuals. As a Gandhian, Nehru too urged the elimination, if not conquest, of fear as the necessary psychological background of a sane and rational social and international order.

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